1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of Araucanian speakers, whose culture he described under the term Mapuche-Huilliche.[4] This is the group with which my report is concerned.

To turn next to limitations of time, it is an accepted fact that the Araucanians were first brought within the scope of Euro-American history in 1536, when some of them met the Spanish forces led by Diego de Almagro. Soon after this, the permanent occupation of Araucanian territory was begun by Pedro de Valdivia, who founded Santiago in 1541 and within the next twelve years established cities and forts as far south as Valdivia. Properly speaking, then, the known history of the Mapuche extends over a span of four hundred years. This study does not propose to cover such a lengthy period. A brief historical sketch will be provided in the succeeding chapter, but I shall deal for the most part with the culture of the Araucanians after they were pacified in 1884, and more particularly with the situation that has arisen since 1917, when the practice of allotting lands in severalty began.

As far as problems and objectives are concerned, circumstances did not permit an unrestricted coverage. Accordingly, a program was adopted that seemed best suited to fill some of the widest gaps in the existing knowledge concerning the Mapuche. Among the most serious lacunae are those in the fields of kinship and sociopolitical organization. The unsatisfactory nature of the published material on these topics is highlighted by the fact that so conscientious and thorough a student as Father Cooper was forced to treat kinship in terms of a unit which, he stated, has been variously designated as *kuga*, *cuga*, *cüga*, *cunga*, and *elpa*, the use of which went out of existence between one hundred and one hundred and fifty years ago, no memory of which now survives, and which has been described or translated by no less than fourteen distinct Spanish or English terms.[5] Likewise, in dealing with sociopolitical culture,

[4] Further details regarding Chile's aboriginal population may be found in Latcham, 1924, pp. 258–74; Guevara, 1929, I: 191–259; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–99.

[5] Cooper, 1946, p. 722.

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

000 If one wishes to understand the process by which the contemporary situation of the Mapuche came into being, it is essential to know some of the salient aspects of their past. For that purpose an effort will be made to provide a historic outline that will include only those events which have had the greatest impact on the development of the tribe's culture.

•175 Broadly speaking, Araucanian history may be divided into five parts: a pre-Spanish period before Almagro's arrival in Chile in 1536; the Spanish period, between 1536 and the establishment of the Chilean republic about 1810; the early decades of the republic, between 1810 and 1884; the era of pacification and settlement on reservations, from 1884 to 1917; and the time of the allotment program since 1917, featured by the allocation of land in severalty. It is with the last two periods that this monograph is primarily concerned.

PRE-SPANISH PERIOD, BEFORE 1536

174 Neither historians nor archeologists have yet been able to establish the date when Araucanians first settled in what is now called Chile,[1] nor does any one know the extent of the territory that they originally occupied. Events remain obscure until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Araucanian domain was invaded from the north by the powerful Incas. During the struggle that followed the Mapuche were forced to yield some ground, but they seem to have been successful in establishing a frontier at the Río Maule (Map 1). No doubt the Incas sometimes penetrated far beyond the Maule, and their comings and goings unquestionably affected the lives and customs of the Chilean aborigines, yet it is generally agreed that the Incas met with such stubborn opposition that on the whole "the in-

[1] New light will certainly be shed on this topic when hitherto unpublished reports of excavations in the Cautín Valley become available. According to a note from Lothrop, Mapuche log coffins and unpainted pottery have been found stratified over stone box graves and painted pottery with Inca-influenced patterns.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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fluence of the *Inca* culture upon Araucanian . . . does not appear to have been very profound."[2]

THE SPANISH PERIOD, 1536–1810

Araucanian contacts with Spaniards fall into two parts. The first, especially in the century between 1541 and 1641, was marked by savage and almost perpetual warfare. The second, from 1641 to 1810, was relatively less violent and consisted of stretches of peace, intermittently broken by bitter fighting.

Active warfare commenced in 1541, as soon as Pedro de Valdivia began his Chilean campaigns. His forces quickly overran the region between the Río Maule and the Río Bío Bío (Map 1), but Araucanian resistance intensified when the Spaniards tried to penetrate into the rainy and forested country south of the Bíc Bío. The Mapuche, led by their great tribal heroes Lautaro and Caupolicán, whose exploits are celebrated in Ercilla's poem, *La Araucana*, simply would not acknowledge defeat and even succeeded in killing Valdivia in 1553. After many more years of continuous fighting, Spain finally recognized the independence of the Indians and concluded the pact of Quillín on January 9, 1641, in which the Bío Bío was formally recognized as the northern limit of Araucanian territory. Thereupon, the era of incessant fighting gradually came to an end, and until the Chilean war of independence began in 1810: "Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerilla raids . . . and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general."[3]

Despite their bloody opposition to the Spaniards, the Araucanians were strongly influenced by Spanish culture. In a succinct summary of this situation Latcham has written: "The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals [especially, horses and oxen], a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel

[2] Cooper, 1946, p. 696. A strong dissent from the prevailing point of view is registered in Guevara, 1929, I: 143–87.

[3] Brand, 1941*a*, p. 19.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the invader."[4] Latcham also emphasized the devastating effects that resulted from the introduction of powerful spirituous liquors.

EARLY DECADES OF THE REPUBLIC, 1810–1884

It will be recalled that the pact of Quillín, in 1641, had formally established the Río Bío Bío as the northern frontier of Araucanian territory. Throughout the years that followed, and despite numerous violations of the arrangement by both sides, the Bío Bío continued to be regarded as the northern boundary of Araucanía, and this alignment was specifically confirmed by treaty at the date of Chilean independence.[5] Curiously enough, as Mark Jefferson pointed out, no southern border to Indian-held land was named in the treaty,[6] but Araucanía was unofficially understood to terminate at the latitude of Valdivia, where the forests end and open country begins. Thus, in the decade or so following 1810, while Chile was struggling to make good her drive for independence from Spain, the wooded area between the Bío Bío and Valdivia was left to the Araucanians. This was the stretch approximately one hundred and fifty miles in length that comprised Araucanía or the Frontera.

At about the same time that the formation of the Chilean republic was taking place, the long-continued resistance of the Mapuche to white encroachment began to decrease. This does not imply that no native revolts occurred after 1810, but it does suggest that after a record of nearly three hundred years of bitter fighting, even the most obdurate of the nineteenth-century Araucanians must have realized that they could not hope to eliminate their hated rivals. In addition, although the Mapuche still resisted any mass penetration of their region, they were becoming subjected to a new kind of unofficial infiltration. This was brought about by the entrance of Chilean squatters who were willing to risk their lives in the hope of improving their lot, and by the incursion of outlaws and despera-

[4] Latcham, 1909, p. 335.

[5] Jefferson, 1921, p. 29.

[6] *Ibid.* It was not until 1852 that the Toltén River was officially declared to be the southern limit of the Frontera.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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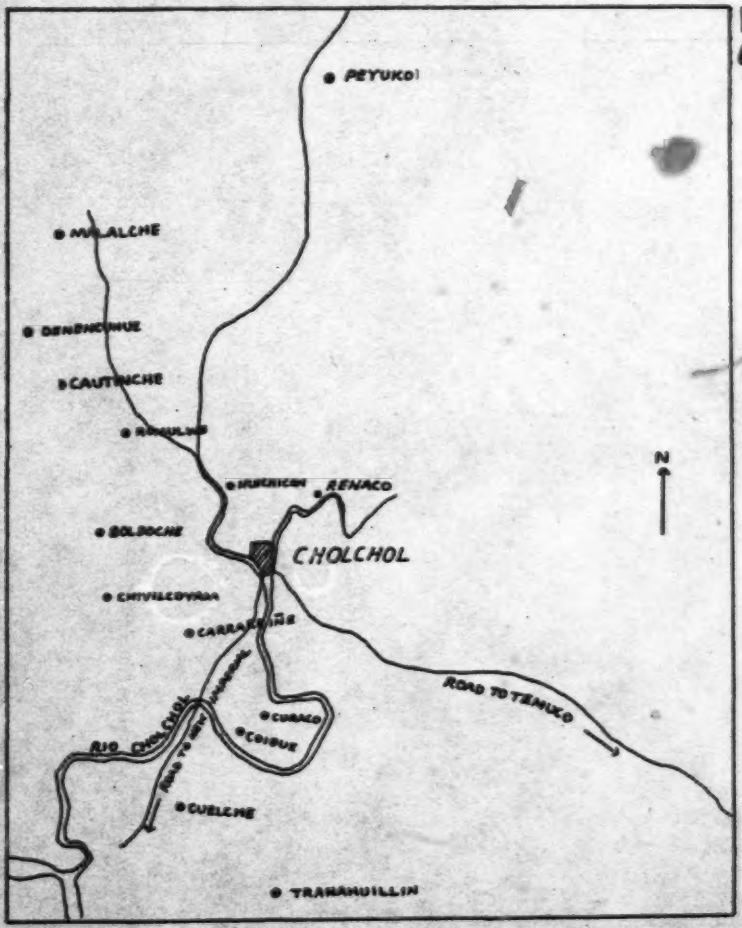

FIG. 1. Reservations near Cholchol. Redrawn from an original sketch loaned by the Reverend Harry Donaldson, of the Misión Araucana. Only reductions mentioned in the text are noted. They indicate the density of reserves around Cholchol. Locations are approximate.

does who sought refuge in the unpoliced sectors of the Frontera. 175
Not all of these invaders were killed, and, in the course of time, 648
some of them married Araucanian women and gradually demon-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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strated that Indians and Chileans could learn to live peacefully together.

Until the mid-nineteenth century the Araucanians continued to be on their guard and to oppose any large scale encroachment from the direction of the country's capital on their north, but during the administrations of President Manuel Montt (1851–1861), they found themselves cut off at the south by the arrival of German and other European immigrants who came by sea to establish settlements that extended out from Valdivia. Thereafter, relatively peaceful penetrations from north and south succeeded, where frontal assaults had failed, in opening parts of Araucanía to white settlement. To encourage this movement, and at the same time to prevent the Indians from losing their land, the government passed a law in 1866 that provided for the establishment of large reservations or reductions, which could not be alienated from the native occupants. Whatever parts of the area were left unassigned, however, were sold on easy terms to colonists. Unfortunately, as the region was unsurveyed and unmapped, no definite boundaries could be set up, and since the filing of legal titles was not always required, the matter of land ownership in the Frontera soon became subject to utter confusion and endless bickering.

It must not be thought that the Araucanians, with their long tradition of fighting in defense of their territory, made no protest against the new invasion of their homeland. They revolted violently in 1868–70; and, when Chile became embroiled with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific (1879–83), they took advantage of the absence of troops in their area to stage a major uprising that continued from 1880 to 1882. This turned out to be their last major effort to regain their lost independence. As soon as Chile began to feel assured of victory in the War of the Pacific, she sent her seasoned soldiers to the Frontera, with the result that by 1884 the Araucanians were thoroughly defeated and pacified.[7]

[7] Galdames, 1941, p. 337. Dr. Lothrop said that in Latcham's opinion the use of modern weapons was a decisive factor in the final defeat of the Araucanians.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PACIFICATION AND THE RESERVATION SYSTEM, 1884–1917

When the government of Chile, in the year following the victorious termination of the War of the Pacific, succeeded in pacifying the Araucanians, it took the stand that the Mapuche deserved to be punished for their disloyalty in revolting while the country was at war. Accordingly, it was decreed that the titles to their tribal reservations were to be cancelled, and their holdings were declared state property.[8] The Indians were permitted to remain on the reservations previously set aside for them, but all of Araucanía was politically subdivided to form several of the present provinces including Bío Bío, Malleco, and Cautín. In fact, it was upon the establishment of the last-named province in 1887 that "the whole of the Frontera was incorporated in the organized national domain,"[9] and to all intents and purposes the Araucanians thereafter became an ethnic minority group of Chilean citizens living within the borders of the republic. New towns and cities sprang up all about them, lines of communication crossed and recrossed their former territory, roads and railroads were built throughout the region, and within a short time every section of the Frontera was penetrated as increasing numbers of colonists laid claim to the unreserved portions of the area.

In this way the Araucanians, soon after their pacification in 1884, came to be confronted with a major problem of cultural readjustment. Whereas they had once been accustomed to wide stretches of free land, they were now hemmed in on fixed reservations; where they had developed a way of life that was successfully adapted to the conduct of long-drawn out wars, they were now forced to modify their customs to suit the conditions of lasting peace. It is the study of this aspect of cultural dynamics that provides one of the central themes of the present monograph.

[8] Housse, 1939, p. 282. This move may well have been influenced by the need of finding new economic outlets for veterans who were returning from four years of service in the army.

[9] McBride, 1936, p. 296.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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THE ALLOTMENT PROGRAM, SINCE 1917

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Unfortunately, from the viewpoint of the harassed Indians, they were yet to be faced with another difficult problem of adjustment—the transition from communally to privately owned land. At the time when reservations were first created by law, a property title (*título de merced*) was issued to each chief who was the recognized head of a kinship group that lived together. It was stipulated, though, that at the request of one-eighth of its members, any reduction must be subdivided into individually-held parcels.[10] At first the natives opposed such subdivisions since the reservation grants usually included a bit of extra land for the common use of the group, but as time went on more and more pressure was exerted to have all reservation land assigned "in severalty to each individual of the kinship group, and to dispose of any remainder for white colonization."[11] An average of five to six hectares (about twelve to fifteen acres) was supposed to be allotted to each person. Where insufficient land was available, the government was expected to provide additional parcels from within its domain. Lothrop informed me that in 1930 some families near Temuco had only one hectare, and in 1937 Dugan estimated that between Quepe and Toltén the average Indian had only two and one-half hectares.[12] According to Lothrop, some poor families in 1930 were moving up the Andes and clearing the forests to make new farms, while others were living with relatives.

Despite the existence of a protective clause that forbade Indian owners to dispose of their parcels of land for a period of ten years, native leaders were not slow to realize how completely the new system of personal land ownership would break up what was left of their tribal unity. In 1930 they held a large congress in Boroa, at which they thoroughly discussed the problems that confronted them.[13] In the end they bowed to what ap-

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 311.
[12] Dugan, 1937, p. 13.
[13] Dr. Lothrop told of a congress that was held on Wednesday, December 25, 1929. Although it was a rainy day about four thousand people were

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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peared inevitable and reluctantly admitted that the continued partitioning of their lands could not be stopped. Somewhat pathetically, these descendants of the great warriors of old asked only that the government should give them adequate legal protection. Dr. McBride, who was present at the congress, was moved to express himself in a vein of gloomy prophecy. "The abolition of their agrarian communities," he wrote, "is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence."[14]

There will be occasion to study some of the details of this process hereinafter.

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present, with perhaps one thousand men on horseback forming a great circle during the speeches. The immediate cause of this congress was the dislodgement of Mapuches close to Temuco so that an airport could be built. Compensation was one hundred pesos, then amounting to $12.19.

[14] McBride, 1936, p. 313.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, which contains what is probably the first "description of the Araucanians ever penned,"[3] the Indians were already good husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa?*], madi [*mani?*], pepper, and beans. . . ."[4]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[5] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and intensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[6]

[3] Graham, 1927, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[5] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288–330; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 74–122.

[6] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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minutes distant from Temuco, and soon the Indians scarcely looked up when they heard a plane in the sky.[1]

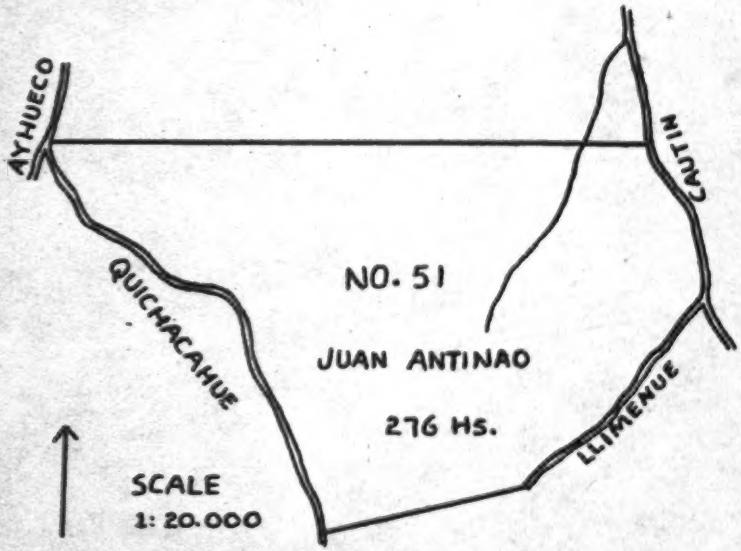

FIG. 5. *Título de Merced* for Cautinche, 1893. Based on an original map in the possession of Juan Antinao. Stream names have been added for purposes of identification of boundaries. The original failed to mark off precise limits.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CAUTINCHE

Until a century or so ago, the district now called Cautinche had no human occupants. At some time just before 1850 a Carrarriñe man named Antío Paineo built a house near the

[1] The Reverend Mr. Crawford, a Methodist missionary in Nueva Imperial, flies his own small plane to many reservations in the vicinity. When Raúl González and I were scheduled to leave the field on July 27, 1948, the Cholchol River was in flood, and we were faced with the prospect of a long, circuitous horseback ride in the rain. Luckily, a break in the weather gave us a chance to call for a plane. In the space of about an hour a pilot made two round trips, flying us from Cholchol to Temuco one at a time. Our baggage followed by oxcart.

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Cautín River, not far from house No. 13 on Figure 4. For this reason the settlement came to be known as Cautinche ("people of Cautín"). There are conflicting stories concerning Antío Paineo's reason for moving away from Carrarriñe. Some say that he was driven out for misconduct, but others claim that he was only an alert pioneer who took advantage of an opportunity to lay claim to a good piece of virgin territory. Cautinche's founder chose wisely, for he picked a spot that was both well watered and well drained and that unquestionably had excellent forest and plant cover in those days.

As the founder of Cautinche, Antío Paineo became its first head man or *loñko*. He had several wives and begot a number of sons who, in keeping with unilocal and patrilocal residence practices, lived with him permanently and served as his followers or *kon·as*. Antío Paineo also had a sister, Jacinta, who had gone to live with her husband near by, but her spouse had several wives and treated them badly. After a time, Jacinta left her husband and came to live with her brother, bringing along a son named Juan Antinao Paineo. Antío Paineo reared his nephew with his own sons and apparently gave him training as a *werken* and a potential heir to the chieftainship. At any rate, when Antío Paineo died, his succession was disputed between his son, Dionisio Paillao and his sister's son, Juan Antinao Paineo. Although the son was traditionally favored to succeed, he was judged in council to lack the force of character and oratorical skill that were highly regarded in a leader, and Juan was elected *loñko*. He proved to be an able leader,[2] and during the period when reservations were being formed he was given an official *título de merced* on December 19, 1893, that entitled him to 276 hectares for the use of forty-four kinfolk (see Fig. 5). One gathers that Dionisio Paillao and some of his brothers were not satisfied to have their late father's prerogatives transferred to a nephew, for they soon began to leave the paternal roof and to build separate homes of their own. Since no one in those days had a precisely defined individual plot of ground, much

[2] While the main facts of the story are doubtless correct, it should be borne in mind that this narrative was told by Juan Antinao Paineo's son.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

bickering arose as the community expanded, and accusations of trespass were bandied back and forth. Very likely the situation became worse when Juan Antianao Paineo died and left the Cautinche title to his son, the present Reverend Juan Antinao. At that time Juan was not yet converted to Christianity, and he was much given to drink. Things grew worse

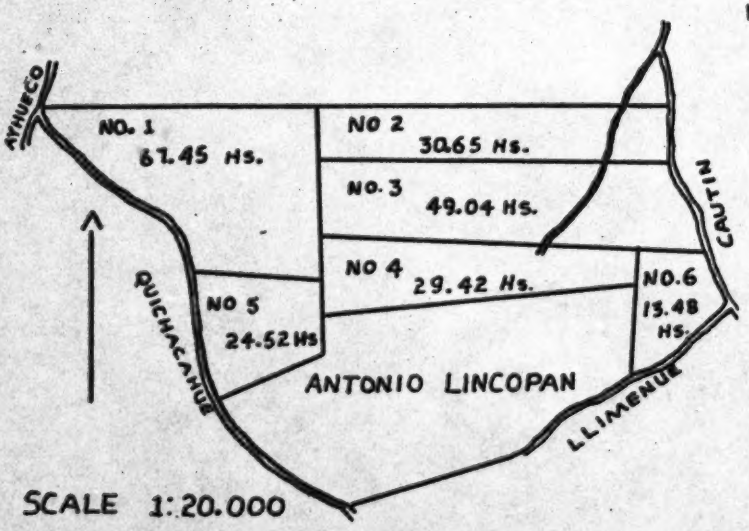

FIG. 6. Cautinche allotments in 1917. From an original drawing owned by Juan Antinao. As in Figure 5, precise boundaries are not established. Antonio Lincopan, who unlike other holders is named but not numbered, received 61.44 hectares.

and worse, and incessant quarreling threatened to disrupt the settlement. At last it was decided to petition the Chilean authorities to subdivide Cautinche and to allot land in severalty to specific owners. The reservation was partitioned on November 12, 1917 (Fig. 6). Juan Antinao received 67.45 hectares and promptly built himself a new home on his own land (house No. 1 on Fig. 4). Thereafter, other householders followed suit until Cautinche took on its current appearance, as shown in Figure 4.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [13] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

● 175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *ñillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.

[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAUCANIAN STUDIES

By DONALD D. BRAND

The term Araucanian most properly refers to the language once spoken by the many Indian groups between the Río Choapa (Coquimbo Province) and the Gulf of Corcovado (Chiloé Province). However, growing usage—both vulgar and scientific—makes advisable the use of this name for the Indians themselves, although they were never a political, physical, or cultural unit.

Probably the first European contact with the Araucanians was in 1536, when some of Diego de Almagro's scouts advanced into central Chile. However, it remained for Pedro de Valdivia, in 1541, to conquer all of Araucanian Chile earlier held by the Incas (to the Río Maule), and to push southward across the Río Bío-Bío into the forest home of the unconquered Araucanians. Here, in 1553, Valdivia lost his life to these Indians—led by Lautaro and Caupolicán. The conquest was continued by García Hurtado de Mendoza, in whose small army was Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (Madrid 1533-1594 Madrid). Although Ercilla spent only seventeen months in Chile (1557-59) his *La Araucana* has been considered the greatest epic poem in the Spanish language. This work was commenced in Chile, concluded in Spain, and was published in Madrid in three parts which appeared in 1569, 1578, and 1589. Although good poetry and fairly good history, *La Araucana* ennobled the Indians exceedingly and cannot be relied upon ethnographically. Similar in vein were *El Arauco Domado* (Lima, 1596), by a Chilean creole Pedro de Oña (Angol 1570-1643 Peru), which was good poetry but which made the Indian a highly romantic figure, and *Purén Indómito* (finished in 1599), by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (born about middle of XVI century).

The century 1541-1641 saw a temporary conquest and settlement of most of the Araucanian country to Chiloé Island, followed by triumphant insurgence of the Indians which left only a few isolated settlements and missions south of the Bío-Bío—such as Arauco, Valdivia, and Castro—in the hands of the Spaniards. A treaty of 1641, confirmed in 1655, saw Spain recognize the independence of the Indians south of the Bío-Bío. During the next one hundred and twenty years (until the peace of 1773, not really effective until 1792) Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerrilla raids (for slaves, revenge, booty, and punitive) and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general. The period 1773-1859 was one almost of peace, excepting for the participation of many Araucanians on the side of the royalist Spaniards against the republican creole Chileans in the War for Independence, 1810-1826.

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

HISTORY

114 • 175 797 The 285 years of Spanish occupation of Chile and contacts with the Araucanians provided, in addition to the poems mentioned above, very little of interest to the anthropologist excepting through the writings of Jesuit missionaries. The Society of Jesus entered Chile in 1593 and was expelled in 1768. One might say that the history of the Jesuits in Chile is the history of the Araucanians. All the leading histories of Chile of this period and nearly all of the Araucanian grammars and dictionaries in use during the Spanish colonial period were composed by the Jesuit fathers. Their published works and unedited manuscripts are still among the chief historical sources. The principal historical works that the student of Araucanía should consult are (most important works are marked *):[1]

113 *D. BARROS ARANA, Luis MONTT, J. T. MEDINA, et al.: *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional.* 45 vols., Santiago, 1861-1923. [Contains many of the works elsewhere mentioned separately, e. g., Góngora Marmolejo II, Núñez de Pineda III, Olivares IV, VII, and XXVI, Gómez de Vidaurre XIV, XV, Molina XI and XXVI, Ovalle XII, XIII, et al.]

*J. T. MEDINA: *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile, 1518-1818.* 30 vols., Santiago 1888-1902.

*Claudio GAY: *Historia física y política de Chile.* 26 vols., Paris, 1844-54. [The French naturalist (1800-1872) explored much of Chile, 1828-1842, on commission from President Portales. *Documentos,* 2 vols., 1846-52, are valuable for such items as: *Cartas de don Pedro de Valdivia, Noticia sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos, Informe de Don Miguel de Olaverria,* etc.]

*Pedro de ANGELIS: *Colección de obras y documentos relativos á la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Río de la Plata.* 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1836-37. [1784-1859]

Alonso de GÓNGORA MARMOLEJO: *Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año del 1575.* Santiago, 1862. [Góngora (1524-1576) was captain for many years in the Araucanian wars.]

Francisco NÚÑEZ DE PINEDA Y BASCUÑAN: *Cautiverio Feliz ... y Razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del Reino de Chile.* Santiago, 1863. [Captain Núñez (Chillán 1607-1680) based his book on a seven months captivity in 1629 among the Araucanians.]

*P. Alonso de OVALLE, S. J.: *Histórica relación del reyno de Chile.* Roma, 1646. [An "armchair" study done by a Chilean Jesuit (Santiago 1601-1651 Lima).]

*P. Diego de ROSALES, S. J.: *Historia general de el reyno de Chile.* 3 vols., Valparaiso, 1877-78. [This Jesuit annalist (Madrid 1601-1677) went to Chile in 1629, and spent many years among the Araucanians. Although pro-Indian, his history has much good realistic ethnography. The history carries to 1655.]

1. Actes de la Société Scientifique du Chili—ASSC
Anales de la Universidad de Chile—AUC
Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris—JSAP
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute—JRAI
Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile—PMEAC
Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía—RCHG

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113 *Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de la civilización de la Araucanía.* 9 vols. in 10, Santiago, 1898-1922. [The various volumes appeared in the AUC, commencing with Tomo CI, and elsewhere; often they were reprinted as separates with a different date. Guevara, born in Curicó 1865, spent several years as rector of the *liceo* of Temuco, in the heart of the Araucanía, died 1935.]

*P. Luis MANCILLA VIDAL, O. F. M.: *Las Misiones Franciscanas de la Araucanía.* Angol, 1904. [1853-?]

Aurelio DIAZ MEZA: *En la Araucanía. Breve relación del último parlamento araucano de Coz-Coz en 18 de enero de 1907.* Santiago, 1907. [1879-1933.]

Roberto LAGOS: *Historia de las misiones del colegio de Chillán. Propagación del Santo Evangelio entre los Araucanos.* Barcelona, 1908.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Seis años de la historia de Chile, 1598-1605.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1908.

*Domingo AMUNÁTEGUI Y SOLAR: *Las encomiendas de indíjenas en Chile.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1909-10. [Born Santiago, 1860; twice rector of university.]

Francisco Javier OVALLE CASTELLO: *Chile en la región austral. El desenvolvimiento de Temuco.* Santiago, 1911.

Ignacio de PAMPLONA: *Historia de las misiones de los P. P. Capuchinos en Chile y la Argentina.* Santiago, 1911.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Historia de Chile. Pedro de Valdivia.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1911-1912.

*Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de Chile: Chile prehispánico.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1925-27.

Juan A. VALDERRAMA: *Diccionario histórico-geográfico de la Araucana.* 2nd ed., Santiago, 1927.

*Richard Edward LATCHAM CARTWRIGHT: *La prehistoria chilena.* Santiago, 1928. [Outstanding anthropologist, born in Bristol, England, 1869; came to Chile 1888; director Museo Nacional de Historia Natural 1928- .]

Otto BERNINGER: *Wald und offenes Land in Süd-Chile zeit der spanischen Eroberung.* Stuttgart, 1929.

● 175 648 After the establishment of the Chilean republic, the Chileans recognized the territorial integrity of Araucanía until the middle of the nineteenth century. Then began the planned colonization (1850-) of western Europeans—chiefly Germans, Britishers, French, and Iberians—in the various borderlands of Araucanía. Here only (essentially 37° to 44° S. Lat.) were there unoccupied lands, timber, water, and climate [134] favorable for agriculturalists from western Europe. However, most of the land was claimed by the Araucanians, and much of this was too waterlogged or too densely vegetated to be attractive to farmers. Friction developed between the Indians and the immigrants, who settled mainly in the southern mainland in the province of Valdivia. Unsuccessful participants in the Chilean insurrections of 1851 and 1859 went among the Araucanians and stirred them up to a warlike activity, 1859-62. This was also the period, 1861-62, of the French adventurer king of Araucanía—Orélie-Antoine I. The demonstrated intention of the Chileans to advance at Araucanian expense (e.g., the law of 1868

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which provided for the placing of the Indians on *reducciones*, allotted in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the revolt of 1868-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucanía, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bío-Bío along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitulation of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-84) completely conquered Araucanía. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 340 years. During this period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of initial conquest, 1598-1602, 1654-1655, 1723, 1766, 1813-1825, 1835, 1859, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

POPULATION

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became somewhat stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase.

The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the past 60 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the last one in November of 1940. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1895. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1890 between 20,000 and 50,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 20 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Pericot y García: *América Indígena*, 1936, p. 682) to 180,000 (Carlson: *Geography of Latin America*, 1936, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 187,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

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previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 300,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martín Collió Huaiquilaf) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collió as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a full-blooded Indian, since a mixed-blood may physically resemble a pure white, a pure Indian, or a definite mixture of the two. Possibly blood-typing might segregate the pure Indians, but only a few hundred Chileans have ever been typed. Due to illiteracy, paucity of legal recorded marriages, and lack of written records, few of the Indians and mestizos of Chile know their ancestry back three generations. It is an historic fact that Spanish renegades, and Chilean outlaws, squatters, and mestizos sought refuge with and settled down and intermarried with the Araucanians south of the Bío-Bío as early as the 16th century, and the process continued well through the 19th century. Further, the Araucanians carried back white and mestizo women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indian" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

These Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bío-Bío and the Gulf of Guafo. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some Araucanians groups, probably Pehuenche and Huilliche, sent bands eastward whose descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Pampas Indians, still live in the Argentinian provinces and territories of Mendoza, Neuquén, Río Negro, and Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Picunche and the like, once existed north of the Maule no longer exist excepting as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great lower class of *rotos* (laborers, etc.) and *inquilinos* (poor tenants). These Indians north of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century,[2] and mixture with *yanaconas* and *mitimaes* brought to Chile from the north by both Incas and Spaniards. Upon the Spanish conquest, the Indians of the Valley of Chile were given as *encomiendas* to the more influential of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and disease killed off great num-

2. Olivares, in the latter part of the 18th century, reported Quechua still spoken as far south as Coquimbo.

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bers, and these were replaced in part by slaves brought in from raids southward, and by Indians from Peru and Bolivia. However, the number steadily diminished, and only a few thousand remained in 1791 when the king ordered complete abolishment of *encomiendas*. O'Higgins, royal governor of Chile, carried out the order and placed the remaining Indians in different villages and new settlements. Although the Indian language is dead, Indian physical types and customs still can be distinguished at some of these places, e.g., Pomaire near Melipilla.

The main Mapuche group is now represented between the Maule and the Bío-Bío by only a few scattered families and individuals. At a few villages, e.g., Quinchamalli near Chillán, there persist handicrafts which may represent a Mapuche origin, such as certain primitive-type ceramics. The Mapuche constitute the bulk of the existing Araucanians, and they are to be found mainly in the provinces of Malleco, Cautín, and Bío-Bío, with extention into the peripheral provinces of Arauco, Concepción, and Valdivia. The Huilliche are next in importance, followed by the closely allied Cunco (Kuncho); these two groups occupy Valdivia and Llanquihue provinces. A mixture of Huilliche and Cunco with the now extinct Poya and possibly Chono gave rise to the Chilotes, some of whose hispanized descendants still live in the province of Chiloé. Near the Chilean-Argentine border, and extending into Argentina are Picunche, Pehuenche, and Huilliche (Manzaneros) bands, which sometimes are referred to collectively as Araucanos Ranqueles or simply Pehuenches. The western Mapuche are the Moluche, just as eastern Araucanians are Pehuenche.

MISSIONS

The study of the Araucanians began with the Roman Catholic[3] missionaries who had to learn both language and customs in order to effectively preach to and convert the natives. Franciscans, 1535, Mercedarians, 1540, and Dominicans, 1557, came early to Chile, and the Jesuits, 1593, and Augustinians, 1595, came before the end of the 16th century. Most of the missionary work among the Araucanians has been done by the Franciscans, Jesuits (1593-1768), Capuchins (1848-) and Salesians. During the colonial period the Jesuits wrote most of the works (letters and histories) that contained anthropological material, and also compiled most of the grammars and dictionaries. During much of the 19th century, Franciscans had missions in northern Araucanía, and the Valdivia-Chiloé area, and Capuchins worked to the south of the Río Cautín. Most of these missionaries were Chileans, Italians, and Germans. More recently the Roman Catholic missionary work has been through the Vicariato Apostólico de las Misiones Capuchinas de la Araucanía (established by Pope Leo XII in 1901 as the

3. The best guide to Roman Catholic missionary literature is Robert Streit [1875-1930]: *Bibliotheca Missionum*, 7 vols., Münster and Aachen, 1916-1931, the 2nd and 3rd volumes being devoted to the Americas.

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175 797 Prefectura Apostólica de la Araucanía, which he gave to German Capuchins from the Province of Bavaria). Salesian missionaries have worked among the Araucanians of Argentine Patagonia since 1879 (*cf. Bollettino Salesiano*, monthly, Turin, 1877-). Since the pacification of Araucanía several Protestant groups have entered the field, e.g., the Anglican Church's South American Missionary Society of London which opened its Araucanian mission[4] in 1895 (some valuable material is to be found in the *South American Missionary Magazine)*, the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions' Araucanian Indian Mission, and the American Southern Baptists. Temuco, capital of Cautín province, is the chief Araucanian market-town and headquarters, and here are several mission schools and convents. Among these are establishments of the Capuchins, Methodists, Baptists, and Hermanas de la Providencia. It is an interesting commentary on Protestant work in Araucanía that no Protestant missionary has yet made an outstanding contribution in linguistics or ethnology. Further, one might quote a Capuchin father concerning "Ciertas sectas protestantes o evangélicas de Inglatierra y Estados Unidos," that they are "sectas que predican con odio poco cristiano contra los sacerdotes católicos y las doctrinas e instituciones de nuestra santa religión. . . . En general estos nuestros hermanos disidentes ayudan a aumentar la confusión."

LINGUISTICS

114 19 The earliest known works on the Araucanian language and dialects (known variously as Araucano, Auca, Chileno or Chilidugu, Moluche, Che, Mapuche or Mapudungu, etc.) are lost, such as the grammar and dictionary of ca. 1595 by Padre Gabriel de la Vega, S. J. The earliest preserved work is by Padre Valdivia, S. J., a rather incomplete grammar published around the beginning of the 16th century. Then a long period ensued[5] before the much better works of Padre Febrés, S. J., and Padre Havestadt, S. J., appeared in 1765 and 1777. These were improved upon by Fray Hernández, O. F. M., in 1846. Little new or constructive work was accomplished until a trained philologist, Dr. Lenz, placed the study of Araucanian on a scientific basis in 1895. His work and example inspired a number of Chilean writers and Capuchin missionaries to collect and publish texts, and to revise the old grammars and dictionaries. Lenz was ably assisted by another great German philologist, R. R. Schuller. Now the Araucanian language can be considered as one of the six or eight most intensively studied Indian languages, although yet far from completely studied or satisfactorily

4. Dr. C. A. Sadleir, a Canadian, opened the S. A. M. S. work in Araucanía, although as early as 1838 Captain Allen Gardiner, R. N. (who was killed, 1851, in Tierra del Fuego) had planned such a mission. Dr. Sadleir later became affiliated with the Araucanian Indian Mission; has been elected honorary president of the Araucanian Federation of Chile; and, since 1901, has been translating various books of the Bible into Araucanian, with the assistance of Ambrosio Painiaef.

5. See Rudolf R. Schuller: *El vocabulario Araucano de 1642-1643*, which reproduces an intervening work first published in 1647.

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197 (Félix José, 1910, pp. xi–xii; 1916, 1:vi). Speakers of a given dialect are apt to pride themselves on using better *Araucanian* than speakers of another, and make fun of the latter's manner of speech. In all dialects there is a more elegant mode of speaking, resorted to especially in meetings of leaders. *Araucanian* has incorporated a considerable number of loan words from *Quechua*.

HISTORY

● 175 649 The recorded history of the *Araucanians* begins with the first *Inca* invasion of their territory under Tupac Yupanqui, who reigned probably circa A. D. 1448–82. The *Inca* frontier was finally fixed at the Río Maule. By the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in *Araucanian* Chile, *Inca* governors had been appointed in the provinces as far south as the Río Maipó, tribute was being exacted, and outpost forts had been erected between the Río Cachapoal and the Río Maule. But the influence of *Inca* culture upon *Araucanian* in this northern zone does not appear to have been very profound.

First contact between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards took place in 1536 when Diego de Almagro with his main army penetrated to Aconcagua, some of his men getting as far south as the Río Maule. But the permanent occupation of *Araucanian* territory began with Pedro de Valdivia, who, setting out from Cuzco in early 1540, reached the valley of Mapocho early in 1541, and founded the city of Santiago on February 12 of the same year. During the following 12 years, to 1553, he established footholds, founding cities and building forts, as far south as Villarica and Valdivia. In 1558, García Hurtado de Mendoza extended the invasion to Chiloé. There followed four decades of bitter warfare between the Spaniards and the *Araucanians*, which came to a head with the death in 1598 of the governor, Martín García de Loyola, and the almost total destruction of the Spanish settlements in *Araucanian* territory south of the Bío-Bío River.

The struggle continued intermittently through the 17th century, giving place in the 18th, with the inauguration of less oppressive policies, to relatively peaceful relations, broken chiefly by the uprisings of 1723, 1740, and 1766. The last stage of the three-and-a-half-century-long struggle was ushered in around the middle of the 19th century, with the impulse then given to foreign immigration into Chile and to White infiltration into the *Araucanian* frontier region. The last uprising of the *Araucanians* began in 1880, and ended with their definitive pacification in 1882–83.

In general, throughout this long period, from 1541 to 1883, relatively little opposition from the *Araucanians* was experienced north of the Río Maule and south of the Río Imperial by the Spaniards; most of the struggle occurred in the central *Araucanian* territory be-

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tween these two rivers, and especially between the Bío-Bío and the Imperial Rivers. 175 648

During the first half of the period, especially during the 16th century, Spanish cultural influences upon the *Araucanians* operated along many lines. The encomienda system, first introduced in Valdivia's time, and then and thereafter carried out on a large scale, brought great numbers of *Araucanians* as workers to Spanish farms, ranches, mines, and homes in Chile, for longer or shorter periods. A great many of the Spanish soldiers and settlers married *Araucanian* women. Many of the Mestizo offspring of such marriages, reared in White surroundings, on coming of age joined the *Araucanian* fighting forces. Many runaways—Spanish, Mestizo, Negro, and mulatto—sought refuge among the *Araucanians*. Captive *Araucanians*, who after a while among their captors were in considerable number freed on various occasions, returned to their people. Many Spaniards—men, women, and children—taken captive in wars and raids remained by force or by choice among their *Araucanian* captors. Many *Araucanians*, taken into the Spanish fighting ranks and trained therein, deserted to their countrymen. Through martial encounter, the *Araucanians* learned much of European military tactics, offensive and defensive weapons, and horsemanship, and used their new knowledge and new weapons with deadly effect. 175 648 144 175 648

Other White influences on the *Araucanians* came through the missionaries, some of whom accompanied Almagro and Valdivia. Most of the earlier missionary work among the main body of the *Araucanians* from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao was done by the Jesuits, from 1593 to their expulsion in 1767–68, and by the Franciscans, especially after the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th. Since 1848, the Capuchins have taken over much of the task. Since the 1890's, Protestant missionaries of several denominations, mostly from England and North America, have been active. The Salesians of Don Bosco have worked since 1879 among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 175 648 797

In spite of all these influences, secular and religious, *Araucanian* culture in the central zone, from the Bío-Bío River to the Río Imperial and even to the Gulf of Reloncaví, remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much remains even today. The native culture north of the Bío-Bío and the Maule Rivers and on the Island of Chiloé early suffered more profound disintegration and survives only fragmentarily among the Mestizo population of these zones. 175 648

In sketching the history of the main body of the *Araucanians*, we have purposely omitted mention of the *Araucanian* diaspora across the Andean Cordillera to the Argentine Pampa. This migration may

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be divided into two phases: a preliminary one up to about the end of the 17th century, and the major one beginning with the dawn of the 18th century.

As early as Valdivia's time, some of the "*Pegüenche*" of the upper main Andean Cordillera and of the "*Puelche*" to the east of them were brought to the Villarica region under the encomienda system (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:469). These "*Puelche*" on returning to their own country must have brought back some *Araucanian* cultural influences, some knowledge of the *Araucanian* tongue, and, not unlikely, an occasional *Araucanian* wife. Sporadic raiding by upland "*Pegüenche*" and by lowland *Araucanians* down and across the Andes into the eastern Andean foothills and into the Pampa beyond was occurring as early at least as the middle of the 17th century. (Rosales, 1877–78, 3:431; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 52–53; cf. Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, p. 123.) Furthermore, our scanty published records imply or suggest the probability that individual *Araucanians* or small bands of *Araucanian* refugees or wanderers had meanwhile come down from the upper cordilleran valleys or had crossed from the west of the Andean slopes, and had taken up life, temporarily at least, on the western fringe of the Pampa, more or less associated with the earlier non-*Araucanian* natives. (Cf. Latcham, 1930, 64:222; 65:235.) As early as 1673–80 *Araucanians* were actively trading with non-*Araucanian* peoples of the Pampa (P. Cabrera, 1934, 1:105,108).

The major phase of the *Araucanian* diaspora into the Pampa began, however, only at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30). In 1707, *Araucanians* were associating or in alliance with non-*Araucanians* on the Río Quinto around what is now Mercedes, in the Province of San Luis (P. Cabrera, 1927, pp. 54–55). A little later, 1709–15, they were raiding almost to the gates of Buenos Aires (Canals Frau, 1941, pp. 233–234).

By the middle of the 18th century *Araucanians* were occupying the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa, and were making excursions to capture wild horses as far as the Volcán range in the southern part of what is now Buenos Aires Province, where Cardiel and Falkner found them in 1746 (Cardiel, in Fúrlong C., 1938, p. 141). From this time on until the campaigns of Roca and Villegas (1879–83), they played a premier role in aboriginal life on the Pampa north of the Río Negro, and greatly modified the culture of the *Tehuelche* south of the same river.

CULTURE

By far the greatest bulk of our information on *Araucanian* culture concerns the *Mapuche* and the mainland *Huilliche* (including the Cuneo). Our information on the culture of the Chilotan and Argentine *Araucanians* is much less extensive; on that of the *Picunche*

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CULTURAL CHANGE AND MILITARY RESISTANCE IN ARAUCANIAN CHILE, 1550-1730

ROBERT CHARLES PADDEN

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THE TERM "ARAUCANIAN CULTURE" suggests a definition and unity which is more applicable to present-day aborigines of Chile than to the culture which the Spaniards encountered in the sixteenth century. While the great majority of Chilean Indians were closely related in race, language, and culture, there were minor variations among them.[1] Those differences, however, were infrequently heeded by the Spanish invaders. Thinking in geographical rather than ethnological terms, and measuring culture with reference to military proficiency, the Spanish chroniclers postulated three spatial bands of culture, the first extending from the Aconcagua to the Nuble River; the second from the Nuble to the Imperial River; the third from there to the Gulf of Reloncaví.[2] Within these regions the Indians were of a single Mapuche culture, as they so identified themselves. Peoples living to the north of any given Mapuche group, although still within it, were identified as Picunche, those to the south as Huilliche.[3] The Spaniards applied these denominations to their conception of cultural distribution, thus making them appear to be racio-cultural entities, which, of course, they were not.[4]

The one outstanding difference among these three groups, as the Spaniards saw them, was the ability of the central band to resist effective Spanish settlement, not only through the sixteenth century, but, as it developed, into the late decades of the nineteenth century. The Araucanian culture in which the present paper is

1 For discussion of Chilean pre-history see Francisco Antonio Encina, *Historia de Chile desde la prehistoria hasta 1891* (19 vols., Santiago, 1940-51), vol. 1, chaps. ii, iii; Ricardo E. Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena* (Santiago, 1928), pp. 147-154, *passim*.

2 Miguel de Olaverría, "Informe de don Miguel de Olaverría sobre el reyno de Chile, sus indios y sus guerras" (in Claudio Gay, *Historia física y política de Chile*, Paris, Santiago, 1844-71). This work comprises twenty eight volumes, two of which are document collections, numbered I and II, hence, Gay, II, pp. 19-20. Olaverría was an old soldier in Chile when he wrote his chronicle in 1594. His work is both dependable and readable. Also see "Viaje de García Hurtado de Mendoza al sur de Valdivia y fundación de Osorno" (Gay, I, pp. 224-225).

3 Encina, vol. 1, pp. 72-74; cf. Latcham, *La prehistoria*, pp. 152-154.

4 The term Picunche did not come into vogue until the seventeenth century. Writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries accepted and compounded these delineations. In addition to these three areas the Spaniards further differentiated between the Picunche, who extended somewhat south of the Maule River, and the *Promaucaes*, who lived between the Nuble River and the Biobío, including the site of Concepción. The Promaucaes were extremely warlike, but since they lived north of the Biobío they were not Araucanians in the proper sense, nor did they make up any part of the *estado* (see note 29).

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interested is limited to the widest Spanish designation, that is, those Indians between the Nuble and Imperial Rivers, and, more precisely, the area which today comprises the province of Arauco. This tiny province, some sixty miles long and twenty wide, was the focal point of Araucanian resistance.

The Spanish conquest of Araucanian Chile began in 1550 when Pedro de Valdivia and his followers built a fort and founded the town of Concepción on the northern bank of the Biobío River. From this point they moved south, inflicting military defeats on the Araucanians and dividing them in encomienda. Within three years the Spaniards had ranged below the Calle-Calle River, founding towns and reducing most of the Indians to servitude. The Indians were restive under this imposition of Spanish dominion, but offered no openly unified resistance. On the heels of this initial pacification Valdivia brought in experienced prospectors and miners from Santiago to search out the gold deposits that were believed to exist. The gold-seekers enjoyed incredible success: several strikes were made which yielded nuggets the size of almonds. "*Desde agora,*" quoth Valdivia, "*comienzo a ser señor.*"[6]

But the Araucanians were not of like mind. Rapid development of the mines and discoveries of new ones portended undisguised slavery. Under such apprehension the Indians of Tucapel contrived a cunning trap for Valdivia into which he fell, and he was then killed and eaten.[6] This signal event inspired a general uprising which lasted for four years, ending with the death of the Indian leader Lautaro in the battle of Peteroa in 1557.[7] Although the general rebellion was ended at this time, the War of Arauco was begun. The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, Catiray, and Purén (the present province of Arauco and its peripheries) stubbornly resisted effective Spanish settlement. This phase of the struggle lasted until 1598, when the Indians captured and ate Governor Martín García de Loyola.[8] There followed a spontaneous rebellion of subjugated Indians from the Maule River to Osorno in the south: every Spanish town worthy of the designation was wiped out below the Biobío, with the exception of Castro on the Isle

5 Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, "Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1575" (in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, 49 vols., Santiago, 1861-1942), vol. 2, pp. 33-34 (this collection will hereafter be cited as CHC). Marmolejo came to Chile with Valdivia in 1549, hence he wrote with considerable experience and authority. His work is fundamental to the study of Araucanian culture.

6 *Idem*, pp. 37-39. Marmolejo's account of Valdivia's death is based on an eyewitness account, hence it is more acceptable than are the many others that are based on rumors and hearsay.

7 For a survey of the first general uprising see Encina, vol. 1, chaps. viii and ix.

8 *Idem*, vol. 2, chap. xxiii; also see Gregorio Serrano, "Relación de lo subcedido en Chile desde veinte de diciembre de novenra y ocho hasta primero de mayo de novenra y nueve" (CHC, vol. 45, pp. 227-233).

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

There are thus three categories of documentary materials from which to draw an image of Araucanian culture: the chronicles of first contact; the chronicles and documents of the first century of conquest; and the histories of the later colonial period. In past reconstructions scholars have tended to assign cultural forms found in later and better documented periods to earlier periods wherein documentation is not generously provided. With disregard for the depth of time, elements have been taken from documentary sources of the entire colonial period and placed side by side in a synchronic mosaic. At best this type of reconstruction is an abstraction of culture, and, like any abstraction, it is essentially unreal. Nowhere does it give a hint of the potentiality of Araucanian culture: on the contrary, such description lends itself to demonstration of a culture which, by the lessons of historical anthropology, should never have survived the first Spanish onslaught. Such reconstruction follows from a basic assumption of cultural constancy. In some phases of material culture this technique is doubtless warranted and valid, especially in the presence of sufficient archaeological documentation. However this may be, the idea of constancy stands in opposition to the idea of change, and from what can be made of the documents, the strength with which the Araucanians resisted Spanish domination was derived not from a constancy of their cultural forms, but from the ability to change them. It seems valid, therefore, to view the sources of the later colonial period as indication of what Araucanian culture *became* under the stress of the long Spanish war rather than as evidence of what it was before the conquest.

The chronicles of the first century of conflict, when viewed from this position and subjected to critical analysis, provide considerable insight into the design of cultural transformation and suggest a functional hypothesis underlying cultural change. The term culture in the present case does not refer to fine art and letters and the numerous connotations usually associated with the term. Such development was not a concomitant of war, nor, it seems clear, did the Araucanians tend in the direction of refined sensibility. Araucanian cultural development occurred only in those arts which had a survival value, and was canalized by the hostile forces which threatened the total culture. Spanish pressure was exerted in three areas — military, political, and religious. The Araucanians, under the stimulus of this external pressure, turned inward upon themselves and developed their own corresponding forms to a point of equal resistive strength. The Spanish challenge in terms of relative force of impact was first military, secondly political, and lastly religious. Araucanian reaction and response to the challenge followed the same gradient.

The founding of Concepción by Valdivia in 1550 marked the real beginning of Araucanian resistance. Located just across the Biobío, out of Araucanian territory proper, it served as a strategic base of operations and a key position of

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

175 Spanish strength. Before its foundation the Spaniards posed a transient threat, but after it began to serve as a springboard for trans-Biobío conquest and settlement the Indians better understood the consequences involved. With alarming speed the Spanish moved southward, through the provinces of Arauco, Catiray, Tucapel, Purén, and Marigueño, coming to a temporary halt at the Calle-Calle River. This entire area, bordered on the west by the sea and on the east by the camino real (the easiest passage through the central valley), was divided in encomienda, Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén being retained by Valdivia as the basis of a princely estate.[11] These provinces, especially Arauco, were highly prized by the Spaniards as the most heavily populated of the whole kingdom, and as possessing an abundance of food stuffs, fine lands, and a most provident climate.[12]

621 Within this area the Indians lived in small, decentralized kinship groups, with no apparent inter-group relationship of an institutional nature. The sources of the sixteenth century are so meagre as to preclude the possibility of clear understanding of the socio-political divisions within the individual group. The local clusters of dwellings, in early chronicles called *levos*, in later ones *reguas*, composed a larger unit known as the *allaregua* (or *aillarèwe*). Each allaregua was composed of nine or less levos. Olaverría, writing in 1594, describes this area as consisting of only five allareguas, but the context in which he mentions them suggests that this semi-centralization was of relatively recent origin.[13] There is no factual basis for postulating anything but a crude kinship relationship, markedly particularized by geographical isolation, at the time of the Spanish arrival.

177 These people, albeit ready warriors, were soundly defeated by Spanish arms and remained so for almost four years. Subsequent events, the revolt against Governor Valdivia in December, 1553, and the continuing War of Arauco, indicate quite clearly that this short peace was a period of Araucanian maturation. Through military action, service in encomienda, and free intercourse in the Spanish towns (Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, and Villa Rica) they observed and learned much about Spanish military organization and strategy, government, social custom, mores, and religious concepts. The lessons they learned were adequately demonstrated in subsequent resistance against the invaders.

726 669 This initial period of communication with Spanish culture was constantly amplified throughout the following century. Military action was usually confined to the summer months. During harvest time and winter both Indians and Spaniards tended to refrain from active combat, holding what had been gained and preparing for summer campaigns. Through peaceful Indians, those serving the

11 Olaverría, p. 20.
12 Marmolejo, p. 25; Pedro de Valdivia to King, Sept. 25, 1551 (Gay, I, pp. 139-142).
13 Olaverría, p. 21.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which is so basic to cultural history; the other to divert study of the problem of Araucanian resistance from narrow analysis of Spanish strength and weakness. It is apparent that understanding is to be found in the sphere of Araucanian cultural experience. In plowing the furrow it is inevitable that questions tentatively answered should suggest a multitude of new ones laying deeper beneath the surface.[61] With more intensified study, surface appearances which now seem to be certainties will doubtless be proved to be more apparent than real. Even so, we can better understand why an observation made by an historian in the middle of the eighteenth century could, with small exception, have been made in the sixteenth:

> In a short time the Spanish conquered the three powerful empires of the American hemisphere, those of Peru, Mexico, and Bogotá, but the hundred and ninety years that have elapsed since the beginning of this conquest have not sufficed to end it with the subjugation of the Araucanians. Nor has the vast expenditure of fifty million pesos and more than 25,000 recruits, nor the effusion of blood that has been spilled done so, even though in the past century the King declared this war to be equal to those of Spain, Flanders, and Italy. Today the Araucanians possess the fairest portions of Chile, from the Biobío River to the Straits of Chiloé, a hundred and fifty leagues stretching between the Cordillera and the sea. In the whole of this area the Spanish hold nothing but the fortified towns of Arauco and Valdivia: the Indians live in independence and enjoyment of their coveted liberty.[62]

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61 One such problem is suggested by the sources. In pre-Hispanic days the Araucanians were sedentary farmers of predominantly vegetarian habits. Frequent mention is made in the documents of a growing cattle economy, especially in Spanish sheep and goats. Inasmuch as warfare disrupted agricultural planting in the valleys, the Araucanians moved their fields to impenetrable sierras. It may be that lower yields in the mountains created a greater need for animal foodstuffs to supplement lowered agricultural production. See, for example, Julián de Bastida to Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Nov. 15, 1563 (CHC, vol. 29, p. 498); Olaverría, pp. 36-38; Marmolejo, pp. 76-77; Nájera, p. 23. The implications suggested in a shift of basic economy are highly significant and require further investigation.

62 Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 29). His statistics seem to be far from the mark. In 1664 the casualty figures, as Latcham reports them, were 29,000 Spaniards and 60,000 Indian allies ("La capacidad guerrera de los Araucanos," p. 58).

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and bush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidification on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change.

Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevetheless, patrilocality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times.

Let us turn now from features related to patriliny to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Moesbach (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Cholchol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Moesbach at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast.

There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle: WiBrDa marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward expression of the Omaha pattern.

On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that MoBrDa is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational WiBrDa marriage. There are in-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

PART I. THE ARAUCANIANS OF CHILE[1]

INTRODUCTION

175 The recorded history of the Araucanians of Chile begins with the Inca invasion of their territory, probably about 1448-1482. Their first recorded contact with Spaniards was with a Spanish army that penetrated their country in 1536. From then on, until the last half of the past century, Araucanians and, at first Spanish, then Chileans, fought each other. Old Araucanians today remember the last days of the struggle. An Alepúe man gave the following account:

In 1860 when Joaquin Perez was President of Chile, the Araucanians were still fighting the Chileans. This type of fighting was called malón—malón is a Spanish word [a surprise attack, as by American Indians]. The Mapuche did great damage to Chileans: they stole animals from them, even oxen; they captured girls and women, especially girls whom they admired, and then forced these to marry them; they stole land; they destroyed small villages—they set fire to the village of Imperial twice and completely destroyed Cañete and other similar small villages. To put an end to these malones President Perez ordered Colonel Bochef into our country. When Andrés Lienlaf, the chief cacique in our area, heard this, he set out for Valdivia [Chilean military headquarters] to speak with the Colonel. He took José Martín with him as an interpreter. These two went along the coast [Pacific] on foot, as far as Los Molinos. Here they made two rafts from saplings and on them got as far as the island of Teja. From there they again went on foot until they reached the river Valdivia, across from Valdivia. They again made themselves rafts here and crossed the river to the town of Valdivia. The river is very wide here. As they were leaving the rafts, they were taken prisoner and brought before the Colonel. The Colonel treated them as traitors. José Martín defended Andrés and said that they had come to negotiate for peace and not for war. The Colonel had received orders to exterminate all Araucanians from Valdivia northward to the province of Arauco. To convince the Colonel of his good will, Andrés got on his knees and took an oath that he would tell all Mapuche under him that they must put an end to these malones. The Colonel then gave him three months of grace. Andrés was to return to the Mapuche and tell them to end their attacks. Andrés returned. He talked to the caciques. Some would not agree with him; they said that he had turned traitor to his people and land. In Imperial the Mapuche beat him to the extent that even his head had three gashes; they, too, called him a traitor. He stayed there until he could go to his relatives in Queule, and later back to Alepúe. After some days he was well enough to return to Valdivia. Here

[1] Unless otherwise stated, the history of the Araucanians as herein given is based on Cooper (1946, pp. 687-705).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

175 they now believed him—they saw his wounds and believed that he had talked to his people, and they let him go home. José Martín did not return for some time. When he did he came home on a Chilean boat and disembarked at Chan Chan. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the now sick cacique, Andrés, among them rice and sugar—Andrés Lienlaf was the first Mapuche here to eat rice and sugar. After Andrés had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among his people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crook of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same cane; it was damaged in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Andrés. He disembarked at Chan Chan with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw him lead these soldiers on to our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that now their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The women wailed. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

131 The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile) 174 when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 30° and 43° S. (1946, p. 687). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 39° and 40° S.

133 In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Toltén, Mehuin, Crucis, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Tromen Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Cahuegua, Calafquén, Pelaifa, Panguipulli, Riñihue, and Pirehueico. From nearly all parts of the provinces snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetropillán (7,740 feet), Shoshuenco (7,740 feet), and Lanín (12,270 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

132 The climate of the region is affected by strong east winds, known as puelches, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

161 Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from 500,000 to three times that when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; Chilean au-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

PART II. THE ARAUCANIANS OF ARGENTINA

INTRODUCTION

114 The history of the Argentine Araucanians has not been written,
175 and scattered information in historical literature now available does not seem to be in agreement. Two reliable writers, Cooper and Canals Frau, differ in their summary statements which appear in the Handbook of South American Indians (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, 1946). Cooper seems inclined to believe that the Argentine Araucanians may have come from Chile. He says: "The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on the 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter" (p. 694). Canals Frau infers from his sources that the Argentine Araucanians are Araucanized Indians whose habitat was the valleys on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera and the plains east of these slopes (pp. 761-766).

173 My informants added little to clarify matters. Typical of their
619 varying statements are the following. One old Argentine informant said, "We [Argentine and Chilean Araucanians] belong to the same big family. Formerly the Araucanians that now live in Chile lived here, and we were exactly alike; but now we differ a little: the Chilean Araucanians live as it is best to live in Chile and we live here like the Argentines do. Their language in Chile differs a little from ours, but we can understand them, and they understand us." Another old informant believed, from what he had heard old people say, that the Argentine Araucanians originated in Chile and crossed through the Andean passes into what is now Argentina in order to put up a supply of jerked guanaco, deer, and rhea. Old people had said that when this was done, most of them returned to Chile, but some remained and settled down in what is now Argentina. Quoting another informant: "My great-grandfather was the cacique where Ketchuquina area is today; that was when the great malón took place [General Roca's 1879 campaign]. When the malón was on, he took all his

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

173 619 people with him and fled to Chile. Later he moved his people back across the Cordillera and settled them in what today is called Trumpul. When one goes to a place where one is not born and accustoms himself to that place and likes it there, he is said to be hümke. We say that of ourselves here in Argentina today. But that is not because we were once in Chile and are now in Argentina; it is because we do not live where we were born. I see no value in anyone wanting to know where we came from!"

Domingo Huenun (70 years old), Chilean Araucanian of Panguipulli, had heard old people say when he himself was still young that there had always been Araucanians on both sides of the Andes; in fact, they had never thought of the Andes as separating them. "That came only after they drew the boundary line between Chile and Argentina," he added. These same old people spoke of the many passes over the Andes, along the shores of lakes and rivers, and said that they had always existed; that some of them were being used by Chileans today. These passes were traveled on foot or on horseback. Such passes used by Chileans today, he noted, were one from Panguipulli to Reihueco to Carango and into the Cordillera; one from Villarrica to Pucón to Trancura (over the Divide) to Lanín and Huechulafquén; another from Calafquén to Coñaripe to Pelaifa to Carriringue (over the Divide) to Paimun; another by way of Pilmaiquén, "which is in the south of Chile and is now a well-built public road to Argentina." Emederio Namkeful, an Argentine Araucanian, told of another pass between Villarrica and Argentina which led in Argentina from Malleo to Mallin Grande to Adraiko to Aukapán to Chinquilihuen, and then across the Divide into Chile.

Domingo Huenun also pointed out that some Araucanian names had always been known as Argentine Araucanian names and others as Chilean Araucanian. He looked at the Argentine list of informants (in 1952) and remarked that Cheokipan was such an Argentine name; and that Cayún, Namunkurá, Kolupan, Quinchawal, Lefín, and Namkeful were Chilean names.

● 175 A historic event often referred to by Argentine Araucanian informants is the final conquest of the Araucanians by the Argentine army in the 1879 campaign of General Roca. It is spoken of as the great attack upon them or the great malón, a malón being defined as a surprise attack by either Whites or Indians in which men were massacred, women and children kidnaped, and animals stolen. The period following 1879 is spoken of as "when the military settled here," or "when the barracks were established here," or "after the soldiers took over."

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Chile SG1

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from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[3]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1562, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 200 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

[3] Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the systems of *encomienda*, *mita*, *reducción*, and *corregimiento*, are synthesized in Faron, 1960:239–307.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

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tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines, several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independence was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was characterized by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings, and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1956).

A [166] [021]

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Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national interest in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Mapuche from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of speculators with an eye to settling Araucanía with resident farmers and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural areas. It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the government desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians. In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not come to form the rural proletariat envisioned by the Chilean landed class. Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population throughout Araucanía and large-scale migration across the Andes into Argentina.[3]

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C [167] A [021]

By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colonization through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866, which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reservation land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual abandonment of reservation living.[4] Meanwhile, unclaimed land was to be sold to settlers.

[3] See Cooper, 1946:690 *et passim*; Canals Frau, 1946:761–66, for discussion and bibliographies.

[4] This mechanism was the policy of *división*, whereby reservation inhabitants could vote to give up reservation status.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

After 1866 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869–70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

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Mapuche

RESERVATIONS

It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, depending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE [4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today — in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group — ANALYST]

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Chilean citizens, though, the Mapuche also have a series of rights and obligations irrespective of reservation status which brings them under the jurisdiction of national courts, the authority of which is backed by the Chilean police force, military organization, and penal institutions. Nevertheless, the question of land rights (corporate *vs.* severalty status) is central to Mapuche political organization. It is largely as title holder of reservation land that the chief enjoys political leadership. It is membership in a reservation community that conditions the individual's political interests and goals. The eventual disposition of reservation land continues to be the primary issue around which Mapuche-Chilean relationships center in the political sphere of social action. The preamble to the contemporary condition may be stated in historical terms.

For more than 300 years after the Spanish invasion of Chile the Mapuche maintained considerable autonomy over the region south of the Bío Bío River. Horacio Lara (1889:241) expressed himself on this matter in the following words: "La Araucanía seguía prestandose a la faz del mundo como una sección territorial independiente de nuestra República, con sus costumbres y su independencia propria. . . ." But toward the end of the colonial era a series of forts and towns was re-established south of the Bío Bío—Los Angeles, Nacimiento, Antuco, and Santa Barbara were founded between 1742 and 1758. South of the Mapuche stronghold, Osorno, San Pablo, and Río Bueno were established with the effect of delimiting the southern extension of Mapuche-held territory. These towns did not serve as jumping-off points for immediate settler penetration of the Indian zone, however.

While little is really known about the details of Mapuche politico-military organization during most of this long era, the fact that they were able to resist white settlement of their heartland suggests an organization that could be called into play when the occasion demanded. It must not be overlooked, though, that they had the advantage of sheer weight of numbers, which, perhaps more than tactical maneuvers and organizational ability, accounts for their successful resistance. Also, because of a lack of centralized political authority, the Spaniards and later the Chileans were forced to conquer one small residential aggregate after another, the defeat of one such group not entailing the submission of the rest. In any case, the long-range successes of the Mapuche were always at the expense of

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the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887 – thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

> Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited – exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [724].

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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725].

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726].

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say:

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726].

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies.

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the

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colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1800's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal *división*. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucanía. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were *not* permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where *división* took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for *división*. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent. Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the headmen of these groups.

The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers of white penetration abandoned their lands, retreated to less accessible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and

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made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities — raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns.

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways.

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to [illegible]ch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations *at its own discretion*!

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[3] There has consequently been a reaction to *división* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a

[3] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

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reservation community is needed before application for *división* may be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national politics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

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The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Jueces de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware.

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration.

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the while colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*.

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century — almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social

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and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was undergoing significant change, and a new social stability was achieved under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

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The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

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182
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A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

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Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-á-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[2] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

were ignorant of their real strength, the cunning men of Carmen then displayed themselves as if for a reconnaissance, and retreated, but only to change their ponchos and reappear as a fresh detachment; the enemy was thus led by these repeated feints and transformations to considerably multiply the real numbers of the Argentine troops, and hesitate to attack so seemingly large a force. After nightfall the herbage in the neighbourhood of the bivouac of the invading army was set on fire. Bewildered by the smoke, the Brazilians retreated, but were encountered by other fires in their rear, and, seeing themselves apparently surrounded and opposed by superior numbers, their leader capitulated. The story is substantiated by the existence of the wreck of a Brazilian man-of-war, still visible in the river.

The fertile valley of the Rio Negro must needs be described in order to convey a proper idea of the resources of Patagones as a colony. By far the greater extent of this valley is as uncultivated as when it was first explored by Don Basilio Villarino, who, under the orders of Viedma, ascended the river in order to ascertain its source, and whose diary is extant in the collection of De Angelis, a valuable abstract of it having been given by Sir W. Parish, though sufficiently long ago in our rapid age to be almost forgotten. He ascended with launches first as far as the Island of Choelechel, seventy leagues from Carmen, which he recommended should be fortified as an advance post against the Indians; thence, after incredible difficulties, he succeeded in reaching the foot of the Cordillera, always keeping on good terms with the natives. Here he met with the Araucanians (termed by me Manzaneros), and was in great hopes of reaching Valdivia through their aid, as they showed themselves friendly disposed; when, unfortunately, the Indians fell out amongst themselves, one of the chiefs being killed in the *mêlée*. The chief who caused this man's death came with his people to the Spaniards to implore their assistance, which was promised. This led to the whole of the remaining

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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Indians forming a league and declaring war against the Spaniards, whose name up to the present they detest. Being obliged to abandon his intention of reaching Valdivia, Vallarino reluctantly determined to return, and accordingly after being supplied by his allies with a store of apples and piñones, descended the river and returned to Carmen.

From the description of this journey, together with the mention of the supplies of apples and piñones obtained at the farthest point reached, I am inclined to assume that this point was near, if not identical with, the place where we passed the Limay on our journey to Las Manzanas, a mile or two below the rapids where Mr. Cox was wrecked.

Villarino states that he entered in his small boat a channel where the river flowed over rounded stones to the S.W. Now the point where Mr. Cox's boat was lost was a rapid to all appearance impassable for a boat: however, it is possible that Vallarino employed Indians on horseback to track his boat, and that the state of the river was more favourable for navigation at the period of his visit.

The mention of the friendly Indians who accompanied him on his return and settled under the protection of the Spaniards, suggests the idea that these may have been the ancestors of Los Mansos or the Tame Indians, at present in the service of the Government. Casimiro had a legend about Indians friendly to the first Spanish settlers, who were subsequently ill-treated by them, and I believe revolted. Luiz Aguirre also asserted that his father was one of the original chiefs of the Rio Negro, who for a long time was friendly to the Spaniards, but at length, a revolt taking place, was imprisoned and kept in Carmen as a hostage, where he died. In the year 1832, when Rosas, for the protection of the southern frontier, made his great attack on the Indians, and driving them back to the neighbourhood of the Cordillera, forced them to submit to his terms, he established a military post at Choelechel, as advised by Villarino. His scheme was, I believe, to extend from this point a chain of forts as

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far as Mendoza, thus keeping the Salinas Indians quite inside the chain, and driving the Araucanos up to their native valleys of the Cordillera.

This plan was never carried out, and the post, to which the name Isla de Rosas had been given, was abandoned. Rosas was, notwithstanding his having beaten the Indians back, very popular amongst them, and on his overthrow a relation of his, Don Pedro Rosas, took refuge in the Salinas with his artillery and battalion. Orkeke and several friends of mine often inquired after Rosas, saying that 'he was a good man,' &c.

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The next expedition up the river occurred only a year previous to my arrival in the Rio Negro, when the steamer Choelechel ascended as far as the island, accompanied by a land force under the Commandante Murga. Indians were found occupying the island, and a European was reported as resident among them, and as exercising the authority of chief. Although he refused to hold any communication with the Argentine commander, it is most probable that this was the famous Frenchman Aurelie I., who was said to have obtained a supply of arms landed in the Rio Negro, and brought up to this island. The expedition did not think fit to disturb the Indians, and returned with little to show as the result of their journey.

It was in contemplation to despatch another expedition, but I have as yet heard no news of its progress from my Patagones correspondents, and it is probably postponed till 'Mañana.'

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The large island of Choelechel, which I know only by description, never having visited it, appears to be not only an important station in a military point of view, but also admirably adapted for cultivation; there are, however, some reasons against its occupation for that purpose: the first is the undoubted hostility of the Indians to any enterprise tending to occupy what they consider their country; secondly, its distance from Carmen or Patagones as a base